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/For information on the "polite form" of address used to designate affinal relatives with whom avoidance or "polite form" usage has been instituted, see categories 195/193./

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852 The public part of the ceremony begins in the early morning
756 before relatives and neighbors. The shaman may confine his own
788 part to prayer and the giving of commands to an assistant, or he may perform the ritual acts alone. The child is marked with pollen or specular iron ore, and pollen is thrown to the directions. One practitioner places four dots of pollen on the face of a boy for whom he is officiating and traces a line of pollen across the bridge
[823] of the nose of a girl. The cradle, and sometimes the child, is held to the cardinal directions, beginning with the east and proceeding in the clockwise circuit. It is the "way" of one shaman to hold up both child and cradle if the ceremony is for a boy but to gesture with the cradle only if the infant is a girl. Finally, the
[574] cradle is faced to the east, and, after three ritual feints, the child
[601] is placed inside. A feast and social occasion follow. According to one informant, a child may later address a parental or grandparental term to the person who lifted him into the cradle, even though no actual relationship exists.

854 This rite is essentially a prayer that the child be spared to
[852] occupy the cradle in the future, for it is not until a month or more
[856] has elapsed and "the neck is strong enough so that the head does not hang limply" that the child is kept continuously in the cra-
[482] dle. After that, the mother carries the cradle by a tumpline pass-
[492] ing across her chest or, more infrequently, over her forehead. Even when she travels on horseback, she often carries the cradle strung across her hip by the carrying strap and suspended over the side of the horse.

854 To the amulets and pendants supplied by the shaman the
789 mother generally adds some of her own. The right paw of the badger, with grass substituted for the bone, is hung on the cradle
751 to guard the child from fright. Such protection is important, for
[825] fright lies at the root of a number of serious illnesses. Humming-
[753] bird claws and pieces of wildcat skin also act as cradle charms. To ward off colds and other sickness, a length of cholla wood is
[824] often tied on the cradle. When anything is wrong with the child,
[755] a growth found on the creosote bush is suspended from the canopy. It is a general rule that no one may step over a child or a
[784] cradle.

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867 Another episode concerns a small boy who had just become
602 aware of the "polite form" of speech, that indirect mode of ad-
• [601] dress in use between affinal relatives who must conduct them-
[576] selves with restraint when they are together. He approached his grandmother's home where there were visitors before whom he was too bashful to appear and, in this most formal manner, asked if the guests were still inside. He was, of course, greeted by
[606] laughter. He did not realize until later that he "was doing what a son-in-law does who thinks his mother-in-law is in a certain place and wants to make sure before he goes in."

867 A comparable mistake was made by some little boys at a girl's
881 puberty rite. During the ceremony the adolescent girl runs around a basket tray placed to the east of the ceremonial structure. In her path, that the benefits of the ceremony may accrue to them also, run young boys and even old men. "When the girls ran around the basket, we boys were expected to run after them. At first, we thought it was a real race, and several of us beat the girls. Then one old man told us that it was not the way, that we were not supposed to pass them, so we stayed behind the other three times."

869 Even when the cultural ethic has been unmistakably indi-
764 cated, a youngster may lag in conforming to it. One man was
[761] reluctant to talk about death or burial, for horror of such topics is great, but he confessed that this had not always been his state of mind:

> I remember that whenever a funeral procession was passing by we were told not to look at it. But we did look at it whenever the old people were not around.
>
> I once asked my grandmother where they were taking a dead man who was being carried away. She told me not to look at the procession. Then she told me that they were putting the man away; that he couldn't walk, or dance, or eat, or sing by himself any more; that they were putting him under the ground.
>
> "But if they are putting him under the ground, how will he keep the dirt out of his eyes?" I asked. She explained to me that he was all fixed up so that no dirt would get in his eyes. It was the first time I had ever thought about death. I began to ask more questions of my grandmother, but she told me that he couldn't come back any more and to stop talking about it.
>
> [857] A few days later we children played funeral. We killed grasshoppers and buried them.
>
> I wasn't afraid until I was about seven years old. Then I learned about ghosts, and from that time on I was pretty much afraid.

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name of the child of the one he is addressing. In discussing anyone, great care is taken to say nothing critical or abusive concerning him before his parents or his children. One man told of a series of fights he initiated by uttering the remark, "Your father is messy around the ankles." He knew very well in advance what the consequences of that observation would be. In a Coyote story the trickster, after being skinned and jeered at for having a "red shirt," retaliates against his tormentors by shouting, "It's your father who has a red shirt!"

Despite the affection and regard which mark the parent-child relationship, it must not be forgotten that discipline and authority are the prerogatives of the father and mother. The daughter, especially, is conditioned to lifelong obedience to parental edicts.

Four terms, the equivalents of father, mother, son, and daughter, serve to express the parent-child relationship. The term for father can refer to no one else. The mother, likewise, is distinguished from her siblings. The parent-child terms differ from others of the kinship system in two particulars. First, they are not self-reciprocal; that is, the same term that is addressed to the son by the father cannot mean father when the son is speaking. Second, each term expresses one relationship only and is not extended to include collateral relatives.

Uncle, aunt-nephew, niece relationships.—Of tremendous importance in the child's life are the maternal uncle and aunt. The mother's sister is likely to be present at the child's birth. She may volunteer to nurse the baby if she has milk and the mother has not enough. She is a permanent member of the mother's extended domestic family. A girl will have intimate contact with this relative throughout life; a boy, at least until his marriage and departure from the encampment. In case the mother dies, this woman may be called upon to adopt or care for her sister's children. She may elect to marry their widowed father[11] and so become their stepmother. Or, since sororal polygyny is practiced, if she is younger than her sister, she may become the second wife of her sister's husband and, by a different route, attain the

[11] See pp. 421–25.

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position of stepmother to these youngsters.[11] Her very closeness to her sister, the fact that these girls have played and worked together since childhood, establishes her interest in the development of her sister's children. The chances are that she will perform protective ceremonies for them, that she will give them food and presents, that they will be frequent visitors in her home, and that she will offer them economic assistance in times of need.

At the puberty rite of her sister's daughter, she will give generously of her labor and provisions. When her niece is about to marry, she will doubtless act as one of the group of relatives who passes on the desirability of the union; she will help erect the dwelling to which the husband will be brought; and she may furnish household necessities. When her nephew marries, her household will contribute to the gifts to be presented to his bride's relatives. The degree to which she participates in the instruction of her sister's children will vary with her own proficiency. If she knows a great deal about the medicinal value of plants, it is quite likely that she will transmit that information to her sister's daughter as well as to her own girls.

Somewhat different are the relations between the child and the mother's brother, for he resides with the extended domestic family only until he marries. If he is considerably younger than the mother, he may be around during the entire childhood of the individual; if he is older or near her age, he may depart while the child is yet very young. But even after he leaves the encampment through marriage, he frequently visits his parental home. At first, to his wife's relatives, he is a stranger and an unproved acquisition. He is bound to many of them by obligations of avoidance, restraint, and economic assistance, but the warmer bonds of kinship and prolonged common residence are lacking. Therefore, until he has children of his own and his status among his wife's relatives is established, he is likely to keep in closest touch with his own blood kin. There is a good deal of restraint

[11] When a woman marries her deceased sister's husband or becomes her sister's co-wife, the stepmother term may be used as a self-reciprocal between her sister's children and herself, or the mother's sister term may be continued. The first is the more common practice.

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There is a good deal of restraint 57 604 between the mother and her brother, for siblings of opposite sex, 593 especially after puberty, must show great respect and decorum when they are together. Consequently, the maternal uncle best [834] shows his affection toward his sister by the interest he takes in her children. There is frequent reference to his instruction of his sister's child, especially of her son, to his economic help at many of the crises, and to his constant friendly contact with his nieces and nephews. There is always the possibility that the mother's brother will marry an unrelated woman from the same local group in which he has grown up and will continue to live near his blood relatives.

Mother's siblings are addressed by one term, a self-reciprocal. 601 • Thus the mother's brother, the mother's sister, the sister's son, 604 and the sister's daughter are all subsumed under the same kinship term. In a secondary sense this term may be addressed to other relatives, to any cousin of the mother, no matter how distantly related, and reciprocally to any female cousin's child.

In normal circumstances the father's sisters and brothers will 604 never be members of the same extended family as the child, [596] though they may be living in the same local group or vicinity. Since their primary ties are with other family units, they have less contact with a child than the maternal relatives. In spite of this, they demonstrate a lively interest in him. This is particularly true of the father's brother. As long as brothers inhabit the [593] same camp they are inseparable, and their interest in each other and in the family line does not cease at marriage. Brother's children are blood kin, and such kinship imposes a solidarity which cannot be denied. "H. is my brother's daughter. No matter how far away she is, if I am sick she comes and helps around camp. But I have helped her as much as she has helped me. I feel that those related in this way should show a lifelong faithfulness to each other in any emergency and all the time."

The fate of brothers is further linked by a levirate arrange 593 ment which entitles an unmarried man to take his deceased 587 brother's wife and place if he and his relatives so decide. This 604 means that a man may in time become the stepfather of his

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brother's children.[13] At all the significant occasions when the maternal relatives offer personal or economic assistance the father's brother contributes also.

The father's sister normally has a family and duties of her own, her brother has passed from the extended family to which she is attached, and the sororate-levirate forms can have no effect upon her future position in respect to her brother's offspring. But the restraint relationship which has existed between this woman and her brother implies lifelong consideration. No better way of responding to this exists than generosity toward the brother's children. Moreover, a man who is in difficulty with his affinal relatives, angered over his wife's behavior, or divorced is likely to return to the extended family in which he was reared. His sister is one of the members of this social group, and her counsel is of great moment in the formation of decisions. These strong ties of consanguinity are felt by the woman to include her brother's children as well.

One term means father's brother and father's sister and is extended in use to include father's cousins, male and female. The same term, used as a self-reciprocal, designates a brother's child and, in an extended sense, a male cousin's child.

Brother-sister and cousin relationships.—The terminology employed to express the sibling, cousin relationship departs in principle from other sets. There are two self-reciprocal terms in use, but, unlike the other kinship terms, they imply sex difference or similarity between the speaker and the person addressed. *Šikis* literally signifies "sibling or cousin of the same sex as myself," and *šilah* carries the force of "sibling or cousin of the opposite sex from myself." Thus, when a woman says *šikis*, she is speaking of a sister or female cousin; when a man uses the same term, he has in mind a brother or a male cousin. Conversely, when a man says *šilah*, he is referring to a sister or a female cousin, and when a woman employs the same term, she is indicating a brother or a male cousin. The *šikis* term can be said to link relatives of the

[13] In that case a stepfather-stepchild term may be substituted for the father's sibling term (see n. 12, p. 56).

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same generation and sex; the *šilah* term, relatives of the same generation but of opposite sex. 593 605

From the comments and practices of his elders the child soon discovers that his *šikis* is designed to be his companion in experience and adventure, his confidant, his defender against misrepresentation or direct attack. The everyday stream of events steadily contributes to his conception of how two brothers or two sisters should act toward each other. His own mother and her sister sit and sew or go after fruit or mescal plants together. His father and his father's brother often act together in matters of raid or warfare. When the extended family is foraging or camping by itself, the children who are thrown together in play, in story-telling sessions, and in training are necessarily brothers, sisters, and cousins. Because of the sexual division in industry and social life, the child is often left with his *šikis* as the available partner for play. The close identification of *šikis* persists throughout life. This fact makes reasonable the sororate-levirate institution. If anyone is wronged or murdered, it is likely to be his *šikis* who demand retaliation. [601] [857] [587] [627]

Quite different is the *šilah* relationship. Everyone is expected to be slightly reserved to all relatives of the opposite sex, whatever their age. Not even the father and his young daughters escape this feeling: "I still kiss my daughter [age six], but I doubt that I will when she is ten, and of course not after she has reached the age of puberty." This restraint becomes heightened between relatives of opposite sex of the same generation. 593 605 834

Brother and sister are so carefully trained to be reserved when they are together that any inclinations to exhibit overt sexual interest in each other are almost certain to be repressed. There is the possibility, however, that young men and women more distantly related will meet and become intimate. The term *šilah* stands as a barrier against this, for a female cousin is terminologically classified by a young man with his sister and is just as forbidden to him. Very often the precise relationship is difficult to trace, but, if the young man knows that either of his parents addressed one of the girl's parents as *šikis* or *šilah*, his attentions to that girl are illicit. 605 835 601

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603 paid to him. My father said the old man was kind to him, was always gentle with him, and used to advise him. He took more trouble with him than other relatives did.

[538 867] The maternal grandparents, who are the approved raconteurs for the children of the extended family, function to a considerable degree as teachers, for a good deal of instruction for the young comes obliquely through stories.

603 868 [855 462] The influence of the maternal grandparents is not limited to oral instruction. While the younger men are hunting or raiding and the younger women are away gathering food or getting wood and water, the care of the children and the performance of camp tasks fall to the older people. The grandfather makes arrows, ropes, and many other objects. Often his grandson watches him or even assists him. The grandmother cooks, sews, and weaves baskets, occasionally pausing to explain her methods to her granddaughter.

603 869 756 Ceremonial knowledge may also be received from the grandparent. Many rites result from personal experiences with the supernatural, but a certain number are passed along to others by those who have had such individual encounters. When a ceremony is transmitted, it is most often taught to a relative. Usually a shaman is reluctant to reveal his secrets until he feels that the end of his life is near and that his ceremony will perish with him unless a successor is found. Thus there is a tendency for very old persons to seek younger relatives as their understudies in things ceremonial. The grandchild often proves a promising candidate, especially if he is not too young during his grandparent's declining years.

603 The paternal grandparents usually cannot hope for a great deal of contact with their son's child. At marriage their son has left their encampment, and his obligations are to his wife's relatives. Yet when it happens that the father's parents do live near the extended family into which their son has married, they take pleasure in being with their grandchildren and may even rival the maternal grandparents in solicitude.

• 601 603 Four kinship terms, one for each grandparent, label the grandparent-grandchild relationship. Since they are used as self-

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reciprocals, one term, in its primary sense, stands for mother's mother and also, when a woman is speaking, for daughter's child; another indicates father's mother and likewise, when a woman is speaking, son's child, etc. 601 603

It is a feature of this kinship system that siblings and cousins of the grandparent are addressed by the same term as the grandparent, regardless of sex. For example, the term for mother's mother also designates her sisters, brothers, and cousins. Reciprocally, the brothers or sisters of a woman will address this same term to their sister's daughter's child, male or female.

For the great-grandparent–great-grandchild relationship the terms of the grandparent-grandchild set are utilized. There is no strong feeling concerning the functions of the great-grandparents and no specialization of terminology. If they are active enough to participate in social, economic, and ceremonial matters, they are treated much as are grandparents. It is the duty of children to support old people who are so far past their prime, and members of the great-grandparent generation receive the extra consideration to which their extreme age entitles them. 603 [601] [888]

CHILDHOOD'S END

Childhood is, strictly speaking, a period of preparation for adult standards. The view of the world is not softened for the young beholder. The child and the adult often listen together to accounts of the rigors of the hunt, of the hardships and glories of war, and of the cruelties of the enemy. "As soon as I was old enough to know," said one informant, "I was told who were our enemies." Another man prefaced an exceptionally vivid description of a war dance with the remark, "When I was just old enough to understand and remember it, I saw them go through this performance." 867 [858] [868]

The child is early introduced to the goals and values of the society. An old man mentioned hunting as one of the first experiences he could recall. He was with older children who were shooting birds with slings, and he followed them around to see what they were doing. [868] [857]

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Residence with or near his affinities is almost imperative for the man, for obviously it would be an insupportable burden for him to maintain a distant encampment of his own and still provide liberally for his wife's parents. Moreover, his identification with these affinal relatives is not without its reciprocal benefits. 591 606

At marriage a man goes to the camp of the girl's parents to live. We do this because a woman is more valuable than a man. We do it to accommodate the woman. The son-in-law is considered a son and as one of the family. The in-laws depend a great deal on him. They depend on him for hunting and all kinds of work. He is almost a slave to them. Everything he gets on the hunt goes to them. In return he has privileges with the property of his wife's people. He can get anything they have very easily. It is understood that he can call on them for aid. This relationship dates from the time of consent to the marriage. [562]

Sometimes the arrival of the groom is the signal for a celebration at the encampment of the bride to which relatives and friends of the couple are invited. The expense and labor are borne by the woman's relatives, although the man's kin, if they live close by, may assist. The program is the usual one of games, feasting, and social dancing. The festivities continue through a day and late into the night. 585 574

After marriage the face of the world is changed for the young man: he removes to another residence, he becomes drawn into the orbit of a new economic constellation, and he becomes subject to the edicts and desires of new masters. 585

THE MAN AND HIS WIFE'S RELATIVES

Primary avoidances and the avoidance behavior pattern.—The regular terms for various affinal relatives are all forms of one verb—the verb "to carry a burden." There have been recent extensions of the meaning of this root, but in the older sense the burden to which reference is made seems to have been the proceeds of the hunt: 601 • 192 601 192 224

I can say to anyone, "I will bring in [carry in] deer for you," using this word. Friends have said this to me because I do not hunt much. I say to them, using the same word, "Yes, bring in the game for me." This does not imply any relationship between us necessarily. On the other hand, when it comes to marriage, we speak of one who marries into our family as "one who carries things in for me" in the sense of "one who goes out and kills and carries in game for me." The word means to me that in the old days a son-in-law would go out and kill game [606]

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601 192 224 606 for his parents-in-law. The word implies to me that the man's business is to hunt in this fashion for me if I am the father-in-law. It is his obligation to do so forever.

601 602 192 [606] It is not alone the father-in-law who calls a son-in-law "one who carries burdens for me." Every relative of the wife, no matter how remotely connected, is entitled to so address or refer to the husband. And the term with which he reciprocates is simply another form of the same verb which means "one for whom I carry burdens."

584 602 606 From the moment that consent to the marriage has been given, a relationship of total avoidance is established between the husband and certain of his wife's relatives. With these persons, avoidance is the unalterable rule and no choice is permitted. "Even if your wife's parents don't approve of the marriage, they have to be ashamed [practice avoidance] anyway." These obligatory avoidance affinities are: the wife's mother, her father, her mother's mother, and her father's mother. Thus, when the young man comes to his new home, there are at least three affinal relatives living close by (providing they are still alive) upon whom he may not look, and who may not see him. Even at the marriage feast this rule of avoidance must be respected. Avoidance makes necessary certain precautions in the arrangement of homes and obviates the possibility of a common meal for the larger relationship group, even though its members share the same larder.

606 602 [591] [585] 606 591 264 596 602 [361] A man lives near his in-laws and brings what he gets on the hunt back to them, all of it. His food is prepared there at his mother-in-law's place anyway. The camp of the young people is so arranged that the place of the parents-in-law cannot be seen; it might be behind some brush with the door facing the other way. The wife eats with her husband, though the food is usually prepared at her mother's home.

593 264 606 [196] The bringing of food to the husband by the wife is termed "she sets something in a container before him":

This means the act of the wife in bringing to her husband food that has been prepared by her mother. The word is now jokingly used to lazy men in the sense of, "You want things pretty easy, don't you? You want things brought on a silver platter to you."

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Polite form.—Polite form is a special third-person singular or plural form of the verb attached to every paradigm. There is an ordinary third-person form, and so linguists distinguish between the two by labeling the polite form the "fourth person." Since the polite form, though it can be used in direct address, is essentially a third-person form, it necessarily injects a note of indirection into any conversation in which it is employed. 195 193 602

The presence of an avoided person, if he is within hearing, must be discreetly ignored, and direct address to him is ordinarily ruled out except for moments of crisis. At these times it is the polite form of speech which passes between the two. Whenever one avoidance affinity speaks of another, and this is much more common, the reference must be couched in the fourth-person form.

Since the common set of terms for affinal relatives is derived from the verb "to carry a burden," and since every paradigm has a fourth-person form as well as a regular third-person form, it follows that there are two ways of saying "affinity who has married into my family"—one polite and one ordinary—and two ways of saying "affinity into whose family I have married." The two terms of this set which are expressed in the fourth-person form are the ones used to denominate affinities who are avoided or to address those to whom polite form is used. The other pair is used of or to affinities with whom neither avoidance nor polite form has been inaugurated. [601]

There are two other words in use to designate affinal relatives with whom avoidance or polite-form usages have been instituted. They, too, are taken from verbs and are fourth-person forms. Unlike the words of the other set, these two forms indicate the sex of the person to whom they are addressed. The term which singles out the male to whom polite form or avoidance is owed literally means "he who is old" and in a primary sense has the connotation of father-in-law. The other, in use to or of women of a comparable category and carrying the primary meaning of mother-in-law, can be translated as "she who has become old." The use of the two affinity systems overlaps. For instance, the

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Theoretically, all adult relatives of the wife who do not automatically avoid her husband may request polite form of him. There are some of these relatives who will almost certainly ask for polite form and others who probably will not. Among the former are those who might have been expected to request avoidance, but who, for some reason, did not. Any other course would advertise the poor opinion they have of their relative or of her new mate. 602 195

But there will be more distantly related kin of the wife who have had little intimate contact with her. When such individuals meet the man for the first time after his marriage, they may indicate the unchanged nature of the association by speaking pleasantly to him in the ordinary way. Most likely they will address the in-law term, "one who carries burdens for me," to him, but it will be the "regular" and not the "polite" term of the set that they will use. [601]

As in the case of avoidance, where latitude in the matter exists and polite form is chosen nevertheless, it may be accepted as an evidence of friendliness and approval:

> A person who does not have to ask for avoidance or polite form but who does it anyway shows that he or she likes the relative and approves of the in-law. It shows approval of the marriage. I should be very proud, for many of the prominent men of the reservation use polite form to me.

The ages of some of the wife's relatives at the time of her marriage automatically prevent many polite-form usages (and avoidances too) from ever being established:

> A person could not request polite form from another until he or she was old enough to understand the custom, that is, until about eighteen years of age.[4]

> I don't talk in the polite way to S. He was little when I married his sister, so he couldn't ask for it. It's got to be started right away, so we have never talked in polite form all these years. . . .

In fact, the relations established in lieu of polite form between a man and the younger members of his wife's extended family are

[4] The concept of the years of discretion, independence, and maturity has stretched with white contact. In purely aboriginal times an individual several years younger than the age mentioned would have been prepared to make decisions of this kind. But the substance of the statement would hold, doubtless, for preadolescents in aboriginal times. [884 177]

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602 195 likely to be really informal. These youngsters are among the few individuals of that group with whom the man does not have to exercise care in word and action, and he is soon on grounds of easy familiarity with them. This makes all the more impossible any establishment of future restraint relations with them.

The last statement implies another factor which controls polite-form decisions—the degree of past or present intimacy between the wife's relative and her husband.

If a relative of your wife doesn't want you to use polite form to him, perhaps it is because he likes you very much and wants to go with you as a partner. Then you'd have to sleep together when you were out camping, bathe together, relieve yourselves when you were together, and that would be all right only if he was not ashamed of you in words. If the polite relationship exists, you can't undress, urinate, or do anything personal like that in his presence. If you ever go out with your wife's brother on a hunt and there is only flat country around and no place to hide, the shame relationship would make it hard on you. So, often, the polite form is not entered into for practical reasons.

[601] C. called my father "cousin" [father's brother's son, in this case]. I call C.'s daughter "cousin." When she married, I could have used polite form to her husband. Then he would have had to use it to me. But I did not want to, because we had been pretty intimate. He would have had to act reserved, and it was hard to put him in that position after what had taken place.

But, once it is started, polite form cannot be casually terminated. [586] "If your wife's brother wants to change his relationship with you, your wife would object, and a thing like this might even break up the marriage. You can't quit or change in the middle."

602 195 586 In reference to the perpetuation of the polite form beyond the life-span of the connecting relative and after divorce, there are these dicta:

We use these forms and usages as long as these people to whom we are acting in this way live. Even if a man's wife dies, this goes on.

We keep up polite forms even after the death of the wife. In case of divorce, polite form continues too.

Polite form is terminated even less frequently than avoidance. If total avoidance becomes an intolerable burden, after a death or divorce it may be scaled down to polite form. But if polite form were discarded, there would be a return to familiar relations

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Another quotation extends this information: 602 195 844

> If she is asked to start it [polite form] with the boy's brothers, she can never marry one of them. The reason given for not using polite form to the boy's mother is that his mother may be required to be at the birth of the child of her daughter-in-law, and it would not be right for her to have such intimate dealings with the girl if she used the polite form to her. At the birth of a child, no one who uses polite form to the mother is around.

Other statements explain that the collateral relatives of the husband's grandparents but not the grandparents themselves, may request polite form. 602 195 It appears that the classes of affinities that expect avoidance from the husband are the very ones which, in the woman's affinal constellation, refrain from making even the polite-form request. None of these polite-form usages is obligatory, it should be noted. This time the initiative comes from the husband's relatives. The same sets of terms are utilized; it is the young woman who is called "one who carries burdens for me" by her affinity and who calls her husband's relative "one for whom I carry burdens." [601]

Again, the usage, to be effective, must begin at once. "I could have used polite form to my cousin's wife. It's too late now. I didn't start it from the beginning. My cousin could have used the polite form to my wife, but he didn't either."

In determining whether he will make the request for polite form of the wife, each member of the husband's relationship group is guided by considerations of age, degree of past intimacy, and closeness of connection to the linking relative—the same factors operative in the man's avoidance and polite-form obligations. Polite form between the woman and her affinal relative, once started, also is supposed to continue indefinitely, regardless of the disturbance of the union by divorce or death. [586]

A woman's obligations to her affinities at marriage are slight compared with those to which her husband is subject, but their existence does serve to indicate that she owes consideration to her husband's kin and can never entirely eliminate them from her plans. 602 Their claim upon her is most fully realized at the death of her mate when they can force her to accept a brother or a cousin of the deceased in his stead. [587]

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Now that the people lead a more settled life and raise stock, there is a real need for dogs, and the feeling against touching them no longer exists. But they are still regarded with some suspicion. "It is not liked if a dog sits on his haunches before you, looking the other way. It's a bad sign. For some reason, dogs are not allowed around the hoop-and-pole game grounds either." [787] [526]

825 [752] [755] 825 601

Snake."—There is, of course, some danger of bites from rattlesnakes, but it is not this alone that is feared. The bite, in fact, is treated ceremonially like any other manifestation of snake sickness. When a snake is accidentally encountered, it is accorded the greatest respect and is referred to by a relationship term:

If a person who does not "know" Snake sees one, he says, "My mother's father, don't bother me! I'm a poor man. Go where I can't see you. Keep out of my path."

You always want to be patient with the snake, and whenever you happen upon one you want to give it good words. Say, "I want to be friends with you, so you must not do anything to hurt me." Whenever you talk to it, say, "My mother's mother, I don't want to see you anywhere I go. You must stay out of my way. You must remain in the ground. There are many people on this earth traveling everywhere."

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It is not surprising that the snake, which sloughs its skin, should be held accountable for serious skin ailments of all kinds:

Snakes have evil influence. The snake has the power to make you sick if you handle him. He causes your skin to peel. The snake is an animal, but at the same time he has a superhatural influence about him that is very bad and very powerful. All snakes are classed the same way.

We are not so much afraid of the snake as we are of the owl or the coyote which we can't fight back. But we don't like to handle snakes or the shed skin of a snake. It causes sores on the inside of the lips, on the hands, and on the skin all over the body. Sometimes blisters break out. It might cause this right away or sometime later.

Swelling appears as a symptom in a specific case of snake sickness:

[11] The eel is called by the same name as the snake and is classified with the snake.

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There is no real ranking of wives, though the first, because she is usually older, might have more to say. The wives live in one encampment but in separate households. When a man has two wives, the one he married first is called "she who sits first." The second wife is called "she sits on her." It really means that she is going to help, to sit next to the other woman. That's how we feel about it. 595

N., a leader who died about ten years ago, had two wives at the same time. He had them right through the time we were at Fort Sill. The wives and children got along well. He had children by both women, and they lived in peace.

When there is more than one wife, the children of one call the children of the others *šiKis* and *šilah*. If a second wife is the sister or cousin of the first, the children of one call the other woman "aunt" and are called "niece" and "nephew" by her. 595 601a

If their father's other wife is no relative of their mother, they call her "stepmother."[6] The husband calls the children of both of these women "son" and "daughter." The real mother calls her own children "son" and "daughter" too.

If a man marries a second sister, he does not have to give more presents. If he marries outside his first wife's family, he does have to give presents though. 595

The subject of plural wives drew this statement from an elderly man:

Most men have one wife. . . . . The limit is about five. If a man can afford it, he might have more, because there is no rule, but the greatest number of wives I ever heard of is four or five, and the greatest number I've actually known about is only two or three. Just because a man marries the eldest of several sisters, he has no claim on the others. Of course, he might marry a sister of his wife if he is ready to marry again and both are willing.

When a man has more than one wife, the first wife is respected more than the others, providing she has children. She acts like the boss and can order the other wife around. If the first wife has no children and the second one has, the second wife would probably be liked better, and in time the first one might be divorced. If one of a man's wives dies, the other wife or wives help to raise her children. They are not adopted by anyone else. [586] [597]

Though all agree that sororal polygyny is preferable, there is some difference of opinion concerning the strictness with which the rule should be applied. A strong feeling for the custom is expressed thus: "A man can have more than one wife. If there is one available for him, he has to marry a wife's sister if he takes a second wife. He marries the oldest sister usually. They all live

[6] One term, a self-reciprocal, means both stepmother and stepchild, woman speaking.

the name is so intimate a facet of the personality, one 551 of the most rigid injunctions forbids the mention of the name of 765 the recently deceased. If the dead person must be mentioned, a qualifying phrase provides a safeguard:

[152] There should be no mention of a dead person. To mention the name of the dead reminds relatives of him and makes them feel bad; it only causes sorrow. Besides it might prove dangerous. To call the name of a dead person at any time is bad, and especially after dark.

[195] We are instructed, in case it is necessary to use the name of the dead, to put a word after the name which means "who used to be called." Another way is to say "the one who used to be a relative of So-and-So." The avoidance of the name is not observed only before the relatives of the dead person. It is a general observance.

When an elder of the family, who has been in close contact with the children, dies, their names are changed:

The children of the family get different names then. The person who has died has called the children by this name that is being dropped; that is why they don't want it used any more. The older people don't have their names changed because of this, however.

If the relative who suggested one's name dies, that name is sure to be changed: " 'Little' was my first name. Later a name was given to me by my grandmother. When she died, it was changed."

When a person who is named after something of common reference dies, the people are reluctant to use the term for a long time after the death. "They are especially careful around the [195] relatives." Circumlocutions and synonyms are employed until • [601] the danger period is past. Even the use of relationship terms is [152] restricted because their utterance might stimulate painful memories or ghost anxieties:

If you have two relatives that you call by the same relationship term and one of them dies, you don't call the other by this term for a while. You call him by his name until the dead person is forgotten. Then you can use the relationship term to him again.

765 Those outside the relationship group in which a death has 578 occurred must exercise the greatest care not to arouse the resent- 822 ment of the bereaved:

What the relatives do not like if a person dies is to see in the next few days anyone wearing a red dress, a red shirt, a red headband, or red clothes of any kind. It hurts the feelings of those who have lost their relative to see this. If a

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APPENDIX

CHIRICAHUA KINSHIP SYSTEM AND TERMS

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The following symbols are used in Fig. 2:

The triangle indicates male; the circle indicates female.

The sign of equality indicates marriage of the individuals between whom it is placed.

Vertical lines are generation lines and connect parent and offspring; horizontal lines connect collateral relatives of the same generation.

The appearance of a letter in more than one generation shows that the term which the letter represents is a self-reciprocal (e.g., the term for father's father [A] is also used of son's child [man speaking]).

St.f. means stepfather, *st.m.* means stepmother, *old.* means older, and *yng.* means younger.

TABLE 1

CHIRICAHUA KINSHIP TERMS

A*	ɬnálé	H	ɬmá''
B	ɬɛ̀lné	I	ɬiɣóyé, ɬdàì
C	ɬcóyé	J	ɬɬɛ̨́'
D	ɬɛ́ó	K	ɬlk'ɬa
E	ɬtà'	L	ɬɬą̀h
F	ɬdè'dé''	M	ɬíyè', ɬɬą́'
G	ɬbé'ɬè'	N	ɬlyáɛ̀è'

* The letters ("A," "B," "C," etc.) refer to the relatives in Fig. 2. The terms listed under "I" can be used interchangeably, as can also those listed under "M."

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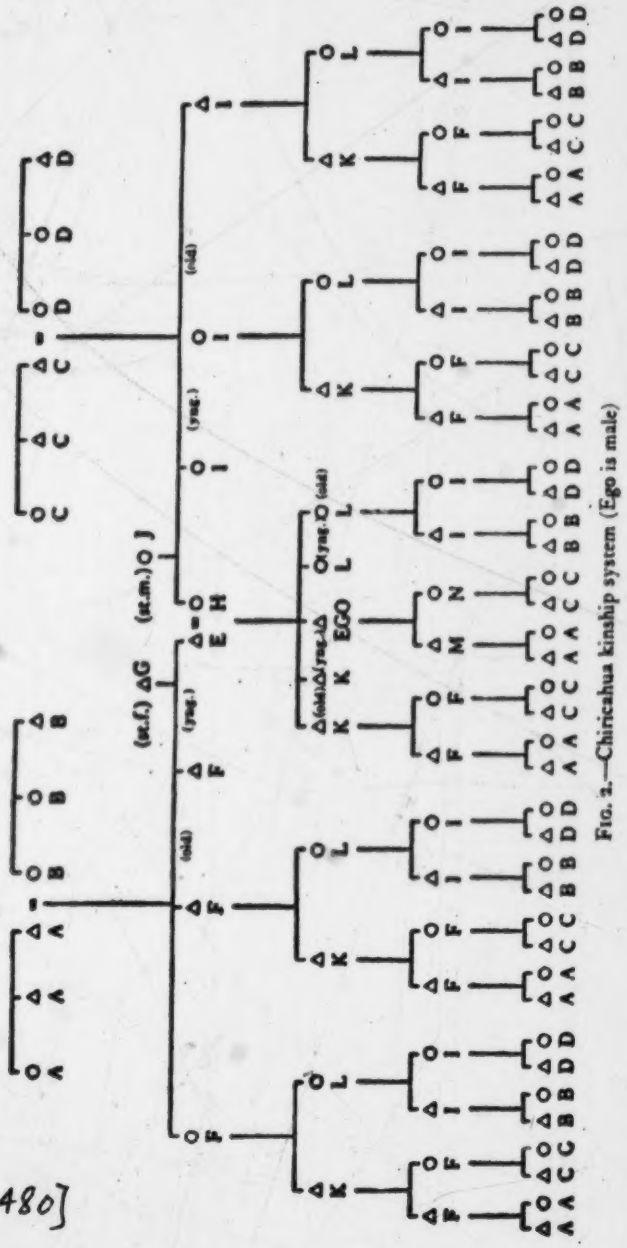

Fig. 2.—Chiricahua kinship system (Ego is male)

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